

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 SS-15

CU-02 OIC-02 SAM-01 EURE-00 /072 W

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1698

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2591

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJ: CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

SUMMARY: MAY 7 SPC DISCUSSION OF CSCE/PR REVEALED DIVISION OF OPINION BETWEEN THOSE, BELGIANS PRIMARILY, WHO THOUGHT PUBLIC APPROACH REPRESENTED BY PRESENT IS DRAFT WAS TOO UPBEAT, AND THOSE WHO FELT THAT ALLIES' POSTURE SHOULD JUSTIFY WESTERN ATTENDANCE AT A STAGE III SUMMIT. BELGIANS PREFERRED RETURN TO ORIGINAL IS DRAFT (USNATO 1702). CANADIANS, NORWEGIANS, AND BRITISH WERE MOST VOCAL IN SUPPORT OF U.S. PREFERENCE FOR DRAFT CURRENTLY IN PLAY (USNATO 2009). SPC MEETS AGAIN MAY 12 TO DECIDE WHICH DRAFT SHOULD BE BASIS FOR NEXT STEPS. REQUEST GUIDANCE BY OPENING OF BUSINESS, MAY 12, END SUMMARY

1. KASTL (SPC CHAIRMAN) OPENED MAY 7 SPC DISCUSSION OF CSCE/PR NOTING THAT DRAFT CURRENTLY IN PLAY REFLECTED INPUTS BY U.S. AND OTHERS ALTHOUGH THESE CONTRIBUTIONS HAD NOT YET BEEN SUBJECT OF SPC DISCUSSION.

2. IN RESPONSE TO KASTL'S QUESTION ABOUT PREFERENCES FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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GENERAL FORMAT, BELGIAN REP (BAL) MADE LENGTHY PRESENTATION GENERALLY CRITICAL OF UPBEAT CHARACTER OF LATEST IS DRAFT. SPECIFICALLY, ON BASIS OF DAVIGNON SUGGESTION AT FEBRUARY 20 REINFORCED NAC, BELGIAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO FEEL THAT

PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF ALLIES' CSCE/PR ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE TO DISSUADE THEIR PUBLICS FROM BELIEF THAT DETENTE HAD BEEN ACHIEVED BY CSCE AND THAT ALLIED MILITARY EFFORTS COULD THEREFORE BE ABANDONED. ALLIED SPOKESMEN SHOULD BE PREPARED TO COUNTER EASTERN CSCE INTERPRETATIONS. MOREOVER, WHILE IT IS CLEAR THAT WESTERN PUBLICS SHOULD BE INFORMED OF ALLIED CSCE ACHIEVEMENTS, IT WOULD BE INOPPORTUNE TO PRESENT POSITIVE RESULTS AS A MAJOR WESTERN SUCCESS. THERE IS NO NEED FOR THE WEST TO CONVINCE ITSELF IN ADVANCE THAT CSCE OUTCOME WILL INEVITABLY BE SUCCESSFUL SINCE SATISFACTORY FINAL TEXTS WILL BE GENERAL AND SUSCEPTIBLE TO MANY INTERPRETATIONS. TRUE TEST WILL DEPEND ON SUBSEQUENT IMPLEMENTATION.

3. IN SUMMARY, BAL FELT NEXT DRAFT SHOULD ATTEMPT ONLY GENERAL INTRODUCTORY INTERPRETATION OF CSCE RESULTS. NEXT VERSION MIGHT BEGIN LAY GROUNDWORK FOR PRESENTATION OF WESTERN ACHIEVEMENTS. IT SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, INCLUDE ELEMENTS OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AS WESTERN SUCCESS SINCE THE SOVIETS WILL CONCENTRATE THEIR EFFORTS ON MAGNIFYING IMPACT PRINCIPLES WILL HAVE ON EUROPEAN STATUS QUO. BAL ASKED SPC ALSO TO EXAMINE VARIOUS GENERAL CSCE ELEMENTS REMAINING TO BE RESOLVED SO THAT PUBLIC OPINION ASPECTS OF SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS COULD BE ANALYZED WHEN SUCH AGREEMENTS ARE REACHED. AS A BASIS FOR NEXT STEPS IN DRAFTING, BAL BELIEVED THE FIRST IS DRAFT (USNATO 1702) OFFERED THE BEST STARTING POINT. AS ILLUSTRATION OF HIS PREFERENCE, BAL THOUGHT PAPER SHOULD NOT MENTION, AS CURRENT TEXT DOES, THAT RECOGNITION OF NORTH AMERICAN ROLE IN EUROPE REPRESENTS A WESTERN ACHIEVEMENT SINCE WEST HAS ALWAYS STOUTLY MAINTAINED THIS POINT AGAINST SOVIET INSISTENCE TO THE CONTRARY. NEITHER SHOULD WEST TERM AGREEMENT ON PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS AS MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT SINCE THIS PRINCIPLE IS ALREADY RECOGNIZED IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.

4. FRG REP (BOSS) SAID THAT FRG ALSO HAD DOUBTS ABOUT CURRENT IS VERSION WHICH SEEMS DEFENSIVE IN ITS EXPRESSION OF DOUBTS ABOUT WESTERN CSCE ROLE AND PROSPECTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS. FRG BELIEVED WESTERN APPROACH SHOULD TAKE OFFENSIVE BY PRESENTING CONFIDENTIAL

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ALLIED DETENTE CONCEPT AND BY REJECTING EASTERN INTERPRETATIONS,

PARTICULARLY ON THOSE POINTS SOVIETS WILL STRESS IN THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. PAPER SHOULD ALSO CLEARLY INDICATE CSCE IS ONLY SINGLE, SMALL STEP AND THAT FURTHER DETENTE WILL DEPEND ON SUBSEQUENT STEPS WHICH MAINTAIN SOLID SECURITY WITHOUT A SHIFT IN THE MILITARY BALANCE. BOSS SUGGESTED THAT FRG DEL WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUBMIT AN APPROPRIATE DRAFT REFLECTING ABOVE POINTS.

5. ITALIAN REP (FERRETTI) SUGGESTED THAT CURRENT IS DRAFT WAS SATISFACTORY BUT SHOULD INCLUDE FOLLOWING FOUR POINTS:

-- SPC DOCUMENT SHOULD PRIMARILY DESCRIBE CSCE RESULTS
AND SUGGEST POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO CRITICISM IN WEST OF CSCE
OUTCOME. AS SUGGESTED BY FRENCH (USNATO 2354) THEREFORE,

FUTURE DRAFT SHOULD INCLUDE PARAGRAPH 5 FROM FIRST IS DRAFT.

-- WHILE ITS APPROACH SHOULD NOT OVEREMPHASIZE POSITIVE
CSCE ASPECTS, THE WEST SHOULD NOT BE ENTIRELY NEGATIVE ABOUT
THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION SINCE THIS WOULD LEAVE FIELD
ENTIRELY OPEN TO SOVIET EXPLOITATION.

-- WESTERN PUBLIC SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT CBMS HAVE NO
MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE AND ARE ONLY OF MINOR POLITICAL
IMPORTANCE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2591

-- PUBLIC OPINION SHOULD REALIZE THAT CSCE HAS FEATURED
PARTICIPATION BY 35 EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITH VARYING HISTORIES,
BACKGROUNDS, AND ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS. FERRETTI ALSO
AGREED WITH FRG REP THAT WESTERN TREATMENT OF DETENTE PROGRESS
SHOULD NOT IN ANY WAY HARM NATO SECURITY AND EAST-WEST MILITARY
BALANCE.

6. CANADIAN REP (ROY) REMINDED SPC THAT COMMITTEE HAD PREVIOUSLY
CRITICIZED FIRST IS DRAFT AS BEING TOO DEFENSIVE. CURRENT
VERSION, THEREFORE, BETTER REFLECTED PREVIOUS DISCUSSION.
CANADIAN REP BELIEVED ALLIES SHOULD BEGIN IN ADVANCE OF CSCE
SUMMIT TO FOSTER PUBLIC RECOGNITION THAT WESTERN CSCE
ACHIEVEMENTS WERE AT LEAST AS SOLID AS THOSE OF THE WARSAW
PACT.

7. WHILE AGREEING WITH SEVERAL POINTS MADE BY BELGIAN REP,

SELMER (NORWAY) DOUBTED UTILITY OF RETURNING TO ORIGINAL IS DRAFT. NORWEGIANS THOUGHT CURRENT VERSION REPRESENTED PROGRESS AND BELIEVED THAT WESTERN EUPHORIA CAN BE DEFLECTED WITHOUT MAJOR SUPPRESSION CAMPAIGN. NORWEGIANS BELIEVED REQUIREMENT FOR CONCRETE MILITARY DETENTE SHOULD BE PUSHED

TO FOREFRONT OF WESTERN PUBLIC ATTENTION. TOWARD THIS END,
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DESCRIPTION OF CSCE AS POSSIBLE EAST-WEST TURNING POINT SHOULD BE AVOIDED. ALLIES SHOULD RECALL THAT PURPOSE OF SPC DOCUMENT WAS TO SERVE AS REMAINDER FOR NATIONAL AUTHORITIES. PAPER SHOULD NOT, THEREFORE, INDULGE TOO MUCH IN UNDERLYING THEOLOGY BUT SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON MAIN THEMES AND ISSUES.

8. U.S. REP (PEREZ) AGREED THAT CURRENT IS VERSION WAS HEADED IN RIGHT DIRECTION AND THAT EXERCISE SHOULD NOT GO BACK TO BEGINNING. U.S. REP ALSO COMMENDED TO ALLIES' ATTENTION ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARMAN'S MAY 6 STATEMENT ON CSCE BEFORE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS.

9. UK REP (SINTON) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES CONSIDERED CURRENT IS VERSION MORE USEFUL THAN EARLIER DRAFT SINCE PRESENT PAPER IS MORE IN LINE WITH A POSITIVE PUBLIC APPROACH TO CSCE RESULTS.

10. TURKISH REP SAID THAT WHILE CSCE SHOULD BE SUBJECT OF OBJECTIVE PUBLIC ASSESSMENT, PRESENTATION SHOULD BE ALONG POSITIVE LINES. SINCE WORKING TIME WAS SHORT, IMPROVEMENT OF PRESENT IS DRAFT MIGHT BE PREFERABLE TO REPLACING IT.

11. FRENCH REP (DE LA FERRIERE) SAID THAT PARIS WAS PREPARED TO CONTINUE WORKING ON THE BASIS OF THE CURRENT IS DRAFT BUT DID NOT WANT TO FORECLOSE PREPARATION OF A NEW DOCUMENT IF A CONSENSUS FAVORED SUCH ACTION. FRENCH BELIEVED THAT AN UNCOMPLICATED, STRAIGHTFORWARD PRESENTATION SHOULD BE MADE TO PUBLIC OF CSCE RESULTS WITH EMPHASIS ON REAL OUTCOME.

12. NETHERLANDS REP (HORAK) THOUGHT FINAL SPC PRODUCT SHOULD OBJECTIVELY INDICATED WHAT HAD AND WHAT HAD NOT BEEN ACHIEVED AT CSCE. CURRENT IS VERSION CONTAINED MANY GOOD POINTS AND SHOULD REMAIN BASIS FOR IS DRAFTING.

13. IN CLOSING, KASTL SUGGESTED THAT CONSENSUS SEEMED TO FAVOR PROCEEDING ON BASIS OF PRESENT IS VERSION BUT ASKED DELEGATIONS TO SEEK GUIDANCE FROM CAPITALS ON PREFERENCES FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION IN SPC MAY 12.

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14. COMMENT: AT MAY 12 SPC, WE WOULD PLAN TO REPEAT OUR RECOMMENDATION THAT SPC CONTINUE WORK ON BASIS OF IS DRAFT FORWARDED USNATO 2009. WE WOULD STRESS THAT U.S. INTENTION IN MAKING PREVIOUS PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE BEEN INCORPORATED IN PRESENT VERSION WAS TO INCLUDE POSITIVE CSCE ELEMENTS WHICH WE FEEL SHOULD BE STRESSED IF WESTERN LEADERS ARE INDEED TO ATTEND A STAGE III SUMMIT. ON OTHER HAND, WE WOULD AGREE THAT PAPER SHOULD BE OBJECTIVE IN ITS APPROACH AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO ENTERTAIN ANY CHANGES OTHERS MIGHT WISH TO MAKE IN INTERESTS OF ACCURACY, OBJECTIVITY OR SPECIFIC DEGREES OF EMPHASIS. IF DEPARTMENT AGREES, WE ALSO WOULD PROPOSE IN MAY 12 SPC THAT IS ATTEMPT FURTHER REVISION OF CURRENT TEXT ON BASIS OF SPC DISCUSSION AND CANADIAN, BRITISH AND DANISH TEXTS

DISTRIBUTED MAY 7 (COPIES POUCHED EUR/RPM FROWICK AND CSCE DEL MARESCA) OF PROPOSED CHANGES IN CURRENT IS DRAFT, AS WELL AS SUGGESTIONS RECENTLY MADE BY FRENCH DEL (USNATO 2354).

15. IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM IN SPC DISCUSSIONS, WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE FOR USE MAY 12. STREATOR

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